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CHINESE COMMUNIST CONTROL OF PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

Li Yu-ning

Special efforts have been made by the Chinese Communists to control press and publications as a means for strengthening their propaganda. In the main, the propaganda contends that the Chinese Communists advocate freedom of press, speech, and publications. In reality, they use press control to regulate public opinion, censor the news, and black out information. Two agencies under the Central People's Government are in charge of press and publications; the News Administration, responsible for the control of newspapers, news reports, broadcasts, etc.; and the Publication Administration, responsible for the control of book publication, distribution, and printing; and unifying, regulating, and dividing the work of all the publicly and privately operated publishing enterprises. The Chinese Communists control press and publications as follows:

CONTROL OF PRESS

From 29 March to 16 April 1950, the News Administration held a nationwide newspaper workers' conference and discussed matters concerning the improvement of newspaper publication, the reorganization of the Hsin-hua T'ung-hsun She (1) (Numbers in parentheses refer to appended characters/ (New China News Agency), and the building of a nationwide broadcasting system. On the basis of conclusions reached in conference discussions, the following decisions were made by the News Administration and will be put into force after approval by the Government Administration Council.

Improvement of Newspaper Activities

1. Since the production campaign is gradually becoming the essential task for the nation, the press throughout the country should devote its principal space to reporting the people's productive activities, disseminating and discussing achievements, as well as criticizing shortcomings in the economic and

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financial activities. Except for foreign and domestic news of importance, local newspapers should print news dispatches in the form of summaries and in readable style. Reports on important conferences or government-promulgated laws should be accompanied by appropriate news stories and comments in vivid and readable style.

2. With a view toward strengthening the influence of the press on national reconstruction and bringing about a closer relationship among the masses of the people, government agencies, and cadres, the press should reorganize its structure, establish better coordination among the editorial, news reporting, and public relation departments, build the editorial department as the center of the staff, and properly divide the editorial and reporting staff into separate working units.

3. The press should organize correspondents and newspaper reading groups among its readers. Correspondents will consist mainly of active members from the workers and peasants, and will also include active government workers and the progressive intelligentsia. The editorial department of a newspaper should direct its correspondents for various activities by mail and meetings, and should organize the members of newspaper reading groups to be students and propaganda workers.

4. The press should assume responsibility for criticizing government agencies and government workers: it should request those who are criticized to make appropriate statements which can be reported to the people. The press should answer its readers' inquiries, particularly their recommendations and questions directed to the government. Such communications of significance should be entered as news items, and those of less significance entered as special features representing the major content of the supplementary section.

These decisions show clearly that the Communists put great emphasis on regulation of the press: they want to make it a medium for launching propaganda and aiding reindoctrination. Hence, newspapers are to present information on government policies and laws instead of printing more domestic or foreign news. For similar reasons, they organize correspondents and newspaper reading groups, and endeavor to deceive the people by publishing readers' inquiries with answers from the government.

For the same reason they try to combine the three departments -- editorial, reporting, correspondence -- into a single department. This has not yet been realized; it is only an ambition.

According to a report by Kuo Mo-jao at the second session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, there are 624 publications of which 165 are dailies (122 are government-owned and 42 are privately owned), and 216 are services publications. The major newspapers include the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, the Shanghai Chieh-fang Jih-pao, the Hankow Ch'ang-chiang Jih-pao, the Canton Nan-fang Jih-pao, the Chungking Hsin-hua Jih-pao, the Sian Ch'un-chung Jih-pao, and the Mukden Tung-pei Jih-pao. According to Communist statistics of May 1950, the 153 daily newspapers have a total circulation of 2,600,000 and are distributed by the post offices. Newspapers in various areas maintain contact with thousands of correspondents. For instance, the Pao-ting Hopeh Jih-pao has 16,000 correspondents. The Communists considered all these figures as gains resulting from their newspaper reform.

Another Communist tactic has been to publish statements of criticism. In April 1950, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued "Decisions Concerning Publishing Self-Criticism Documents in Newspapers." Despite the fact that people are invited to criticize Communist activities and to publish them in the newspapers, the scope in which criticism is allowed is very limited as we can see from the decisions; e.g.:

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"The purpose of our criticism campaign is to provide an opportunity for the masses of the people (first of all, workers and peasants) to promote and to strengthen the enterprise of national reconstruction. Such criticism must conform with national policies, be constructive in nature, and of good intention. In other words, it must not be the destructive type of criticism which opposes the people's democratic order and the Common Program, obstructs discipline and government leadership, undermines the confidence and enthusiasm of the advancing masses, or produces pessimism and breeds disunity. The editorial staff, reporters, letter correspondents, and newspaper reading groups should, therefore, welcome and guide correct criticism. They must oppose resolutely all destructive criticism, particularly criticism plotted by the counterrevolutionaries against the People's Democratic Dictatorship."

Thus, in the name of coping with counterrevolutionary criticism, no criticism can be made except that which is in accordance with their policies. And even this criticism must be checked with the government officials or agencies against whom it is directed before it can be printed in the press. This is clearly stated in the decisions.

"In the past, some newspapers brought the criticism to the party agencies and government organizations involved for approval before they published it. Henceforth, when the newspaper staff members are in doubt as to the genuineness of the criticism, they should refer it to the government agencies involved. However, when sure that the criticism is basically correct, the press may publish it without consent of the person or agency criticized, provided the press assumes full responsibility."

Despite the provision that a newspaper may publish a criticism without being screened by the person or agency criticized, the newspaper must verify the accuracy of its report and take the full responsibility. Such a rule is so obvious that it needs no explanation.

Reorganization of Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She

The Communist regulations dealing with the reorganization of the Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She may be briefly described as follows:

The Communists intend to bring all the general branches and subbranches of the Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She under centralized control. The general branches and subbranches will no longer distribute news in their respective areas. All the general branches and subbranches, except those attached to the Third Field Army, will be merged with the regional general branches and remain directly subordinate to the six regional general branches in North, Northeast, South, South-Central, Southwest, and Northwest China.

The Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She is the former Chung-hua She (2) (China News Agency) established in January 1931 in the Sovietized region of Kiangsi Province and reorganized as the present Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She in December 1936. With the establishment of the Central People's Government in October 1949 the Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She became a state-controlled news agency with a central office, 12 general branches, 57 subbranches, and eight branches at home and abroad which are directly subordinate to the central office. Most of the general branches and subbranches supply news to regional newspapers; some are even affiliated with the regional press. Since dispersion of power is no longer necessary as a result of the Communist victory throughout China, the Communists resolved to reorganize this news agency and put it under a single authority.

Consequently, the central office of the Hsin-hua Tung-hsun She has reduced the number of its organizations. It now has only seven regional general branches, 46 subbranches, and three overseas branches. Furthermore, instructions on dealing with newspaper policy, administration, and activities of the branches will be issued by the central office.

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First, the central office declared that news reporting in various areas must be appropriate to the national struggle and reconstruction, and must be of educational value to the general readers and cadres. News reporting must not only be suitable for use by the central office, but must also have a positive effect on readers and cadres.

Second, it intended to absorb the reporting groups into its subordinate organs as a courier service, and to reorganize its branches so that their chief activity would be the reporting of news. Thus, it required the branches to simplify their organizations by cutting off entirely their nonreporting staff. An ideal branch should consist only of reporters who combine the functions of news gathering, research, and editing. As a result, the chief of a local branch is only a special correspondent and his assistants are merely assistant correspondents to the central office.

From the above, it is clear that the local reporters do not take care of news gathering. Their job is the collection of information for the central office for propaganda purposes. Since local reporters do not supply news to the local press or make any news comments, only a few reporters are needed in the local news agencies. When contrasted with the function of the local branches of the Chung-yang She (3) (Central News Agency) in the past, it is easy to comprehend the manifest purposes of the Communist press control.

Control of Broadcasting Stations

With regard to the control of network broadcasting, the Communists made the following regulations:

1. The political organ in each hsien government or a unit of the armed forces must appoint a radio monitoring clerk charged with recording the news broadcasts and important government laws and orders and with publishing them as bulletins or circulars.
2. Each government office, organization, factory, and school should also appoint a member of its staff to organize auditors for broadcast programs and to record them for publication.
3. Organize persons already active as auditors and urge them to form special groups responsible for explaining the programs and recruiting more people to join in the audience.
4. All the recording clerks should register with the central or local broadcast station and submit monthly reports of their activities and audience reaction.

Broadcasting is considered the most powerful propaganda medium by the Communists, chiefly because of the underdeveloped communication system, illiteracy, and the insufficient number of newspapers. According to Communist statistics of July 1950, there were 55 broadcast stations, 32 of which were privately owned (22 of them located in Shanghai). The Chung-yang Jen-min Kuang-po Tien-t'ai (4) (Central People's Broadcasting Station) in Peiping is the former Hsin-hua Kuang-po Tien-ti (5) (New China Broadcasting Station) established in Yenai, September 1945, and which belonged to the Hsin-hua T'ung-hsun She. It was reorganized in March 1950 when the Communists moved to Peiping.

In March 1950, they separated the broadcasting station from the Hsin-hua T'ung-hsun She and set up the Chung-yang Kuang-po Shih-yeh Kuan-li Chu (6) (Central Broadcasting Enterprise Control Bureau) which was reorganized into the Kuang-po Shih-yeh Chu (7) (Broadcasting Enterprise Bureau) and placed under the jurisdiction of the News Administration. The affiliated radio station

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was named the Central People's Broadcasting Station and consists of a domestic network and an international network. The domestic network is operated at 640, 720, 6,100, 7,100, 7,500, 9,040, and 9,730 kilocycles; the international network at 700, 10,260, and 15,060. Important domestic programs are rebroadcast by local stations in the national language as well as dialects.

The international station makes one broadcast daily using 12 foreign languages. The greater emphasis is placed on news broadcasts in Japanese, Indonesian, Indochinese, Burmese, and Siamese. The Amoy, Chowchow, Cantonese, and Hakka dialects are used for the Chinese audience. In May 1950, the Korean, Tibetan, and Mongolian languages were added to the programs. The Central People's Broadcasting Station has the greatest transmitting power, constituting almost half of the combined transmitting power of all other stations in China. Local stations rely chiefly on materials and equipment left behind by the previous regime; not all of these are in good operating condition.

To encourage group listening, the Communists recruited monitors to organize the audience. It was estimated that China now has more than one million radios. Most of them are in the Northeast region and Shanghai. In some places there are none, while in others many of the radios are not in operating condition. This led the Communists to urge local stations to help the listeners by repairing radios free of charge, installing loudspeakers, etc. These are the measures taken by the Communists for spreading propaganda.

As to the broadcast from our side, listening to it is strictly forbidden. Some people were arrested because they owned radios and were suspected of listening to our broadcasts. There is no indication that the Communists have made any significant achievements in propaganda broadcasting.

CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS

From 15 to 25 September 1950, the Publication Administration held a publications conference. It was participated in by 321 delegates, including delegates from the publication control bureaus of various areas, people's organizations, state and private publishing firms, printing firms, magazine publishers, booksellers, etc. Hu Yu-chih, head of the Publication Administration, made a report entitled "On the People's Publication Enterprise and Its Course for Future Development." In this conference the Publication Administration presented its policies on publishing, printing, circulation, periodicals, and the delegates brought up 138 proposals. As a result, the conference passed five resolutions dealing with basic policies on publishing, printing, periodical publications, circulation problems, etc.

This conference on publications arose, in fact, from two previous conferences -- one held by the Hsin-hua T'ung-hsun She (29 August to 10 September 1950) and the other by government agencies in charge of publication control (from 28 to 30 September 1950). These two conferences have already made some important decisions on the control of publications. The following is a summary of the important resolutions passed in the above-mentioned three conferences:

First, according to the resolutions issued by the Publication Administration, the basic policies concerning publications are the following:

"The publication enterprise of the people's new China must carry out without reservation the people's national, scientific, and cultural, and educational policies and resolutely oppose the feudal, compradoric, and fascist ideology. To comply with these basic policies, the publication enterprise should conform to existing circumstances with regard to time and place and live up to the people's needs.

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"To live up to the needs of national reconstruction and the cultural life of the broad masses, the nation's publicly and privately operated publishing, printing, and bookselling enterprises shall be united and shall work together.

"In view of the present difficulties, it is necessary to institute a centralized control system and apply business specialization; we must also reorganize publishing firms into modern businesses and introduce production planning."

These so-called basic policies are merely a repetition of those set forth in the Common Program adopted by the People's Political Consultative Council. We should especially notice how the Communists unify the publishing industry as a step toward controlling the cultural activities of the people. The Communists tightened their control of the publishing industry because they intended to poison the people's thinking, to flatter the so-called advanced culture of their masters, and finally, to safeguard their rulership. These measures are not cultural activities but political and propaganda practices.

Second, with respect to policies concerning the improvement of publication activities, the following were embodied in the "Decisions Concerning the Development of A National Publication Enterprise," issued 28 October 1950 by the Publication Administration and published in the report to the Government Administration Council concerning the first national publication conference:

1. Publicly or privately operated publishing enterprises should separate publishing from distributing and printing functions and operate on a professional or specialized basis. The Publication Administration should take steps to utilize the advantages to be derived from a division of labor. However, publishing firms specializing in certain publications may also assume distributing and printing functions.

2. Publicly or privately operated publishing agencies should work out feasible long-range plans for the direction of specialization, classification of publications, increasing circulation, etc.

3. The scope of publications must be widened through increasing publications on social and natural sciences, literature, and others; more popular books and magazines must be published for use in the education of workers, peasants, and soldiers.

4. To keep pace with the cultural development in various areas, a plan should be made to establish local publishing enterprises to publish books and periodicals of local interest.

5. Each publishing agency should endeavor to specialize and keep in contact with the writers in its special field. Agencies already engaged in such specialized fields may get in touch with related government departments for information to be used in publication or accept guidance from those government departments.

6. Various publicly and privately operated publishing enterprises in each locality should establish a permanent organization which holds a periodic conference or discussion meeting to exchange views and work experiences and make publication plans in close liaison with the local administrative organ.

7. Publishing enterprises in various areas should establish, either jointly or individually, training classes for workers; the Publication Administration should set up a vocational school to promote and train technical personnel.

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Third, the decisions concerning publication distribution are as follows:

1. For the widespread distribution of publications among the people, all distributing agencies (including bookstands, booksellers, post offices and co-operatives) should be united and form a distributing network. Various methods (including mobile book centers) are to be employed by these agencies to distribute books and other publications among industrial plants, mines, villages, armed forces, government agencies, schools, and areas inhabited by minority nationalities. Special efforts should be made to distribute publications to overseas Chinese and people of foreign countries.

2. Help must be given to industrial plants, mines, rural groups, troops, government agencies, and schools in establishing libraries, reading rooms, study clubs, book circulation stations, etc.

3. Emphasis must be placed on publicizing books mostly, recommending good reading, and reporting the readers' reactions to the publishers.

4. Business management must be improved to reduce operating costs so that publications can be sold at lower prices. Strive to sell books at uniform prices throughout the country.

Fourth, the following steps are being taken to improve the publication of periodicals:

1. With a view toward eliminating waste resulting from unnecessary duplication, periodicals of a similar nature should voluntarily arrange to specialize in different subjects or merge.

2. Publish more popular magazines of various interests to keep pace with the educational development of workers, peasants, and soldiers.

3. All publicly or privately operated publishing firms must pay due attention to distributing periodicals and should push the distribution of government published periodicals. The post offices must be fully utilized as distributing agencies.

Fifth, measures for improving printing industry include the following:

1. Publicly and privately operated printing firms should not expand their facilities blindly, and government agencies and people's organizations should print their publications in the existing printing firms instead of creating new ones.

2. Privately operated small-scale printing shops of the same type should voluntarily merge as joint-stock companies. Some publicly operated printing plants should also be reorganized.

3. For the benefit of future development of the printing industry, the government should set up vocational printing schools to train skilled workers.

On the basis of these policies on publications, the following concrete steps will be taken:

1. Beginning in 1951, the Hsin-hua Shu-tien (8) (New China Bookstore) organized as a nationwide publishing enterprise and will take the initiative in forming, with other publicly and privately operated publishing firms, a huge publishing network. China's five larger publishing companies, the Shang-wu Yin-shu Kuan (9) (Commercial Press), the Chung-hua Shu-chu (10) (China Bookstore), the K'ai-ming Shu-tien (11), (Kai-ming Bookstore), the San-lien Shu-tien

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(12), (Tri-Union Bookstore), and the Lien-ying Shu-tien (13) (Jointly Operated Bookstore), have agreed to consolidate or merge their publishing departments and reorient their areas of specialization to avoid competition with the Hsin-hua Shu-tien.

2. Staff members in the former publishing department of the Hsin-hua Shu-tien and some of the personnel in the Editing and Censor Bureau of the Publication Administration will unite and form the Jen-min Ch'u-pan She (14) (People's Press). The editing and publishing agencies of the Hsin-hua Shu-tien in various areas should also separate themselves from the Hsin-hua Shu-tien and form a local Jen-min Ch'u-pan She.

The Hsin-hua Shu-tien General Control Office's two printing plants in Tientsin and Peiping will be combined into an independent enterprise under the jurisdiction of the newly established General Control Office of the Hsin-hua Yin-shu Ch'ang (15) (New China Printing Company). The central offices of the Hsin-hua Shu-tien and the Jen-min Ch'u-pan She and the Hsin-hua Yin-shu Ch'ang are all directly subordinate to the Publication Administration, and, as publishing enterprises of a socialist nature, are responsible for leading the state and privately operated publishing and printing industry.

3. Assigned specialization in the publishing field is as follows: The Shang-wu Yin-shu Kuan and the Chung-hua Shu-chu will specialize in natural science, pure science, engineering, agriculture, and medical science. The former Chung-cheng Shu-chu (16), the Tu-li Ch'u-pan She (17) (Independence Press), and the Chung-kuo Wen-hua Fu-wu She (18) (China Cultural Service) were taken over and reorganized by the Communists. The San-lien Shu-tien, the K'ai-ming Shu-tien will specialize in social science, literature, history, and publications for readers of middle-school educational background. The Tung-lien (19), a consolidated company of popular publications, and the Lin-lien (20), a consolidated company for comic books will specialize in popular books. The Ta-tung Shu-chu (21) (Great East Bookstore), the Erh-tung Shu-chu (22) (Children's Bookstore), and the Tung-lien Ch'u-pan She (23) (United Children's Press) will specialize in children's books. The Kung-jen Ch'u-pan She (24) (Worker's Press) will specialize in books for workers; and the Ch'ing-nien Ch'u-pan She (25) (Youth Press) will specialize in books for young people.

Primary and middle school textbooks will be published by the Jen-min Chiao-yu Ch'u-pan She (26) (People's Educational Press), formed by the former Hua-pei Ch'u-pan She (27) (North China Press), and the Shanghai Ch'u-pan She (28) (Shanghai Press). Specialized book companies will also be created for the publication of literature and art books.

From what has been mentioned above, we can see how tightly the Communists control the publishing industry. As a result of their decision on specialization, the Hsin-hua Shu-tien becomes the sole publisher which will gradually undertake the publication of all books and magazines of the entire nation. Furthermore, the post office becomes the sole distributor of publications under their system. In this way, practically no publication can evade the Communist control.

Third, under the Communist plan for specialization, a small printing plant can be merged with others and remain under the control of the Hsin-hua Yin-shu Ch'ang. No organization can set up its own printing plant. Larger plants such as the Shang-wu Yen-shu Kuan and the Chung-hua Shu-chu, cannot publish any books of their choice; for under the planned specialization, publications dealing with social sciences and political science in particular can be published only by the Hsin-hua Shu-tien and the Hsin-hua Yin-shu Ch'ang.

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In short, there is absolutely no freedom of the press. What claims to be the people's publishing enterprise is but another name for a Communist publishing enterprise. Freedom of the press only means freedom for the Communist press. In fact, all the Communist slogans are calculated to serve the party interest and are merely propaganda.

Now we take a look at the Communist publications. According to his report to the conference on publication, Hu Yu-chih, head of the Publication Administration, there were published, from January to June 1950, 2,619 first-edition books (not including periodicals) and 4,257 second-edition books, with a total circulation of 95,224,516 copies. According to an article entitled "The Development of New China's Publishing Enterprise" in the Shanghai Ta Kung Pao, 28 September 1950, by Kao Feng, 200 million copies of books were published or printed in 1950, of which 90 million were published in January and February. This figure included 57,633,186 copies of primary school and middle-school textbooks. Except for textbooks, each book averaged 6,418 copies.

Since the founding of the Publication Administration in July 1950, it has received 4,960 book manuscripts of which 2,088 were published by state or state-private publishing firms, and 2,972 by private firms. The distribution of the various types of books is as follows: political theory constitutes 20.7 percent of the total books published; philosophy, history, geography, and languages, 11.6 percent; natural science and applied techniques, 17.1 percent; literature, 18.9 percent; textbooks, 6.5 percent; popular books, 18.1 percent; children's books, 5.3 percent; others, 1.8 percent. Only 185 out of the 426 book companies in Communist China published new books in 1950; the rest remained closed or operated at half capacity.

Ownership of the 185 book companies is as follows: 16 are owned by the state, six are jointly owned by public and private capital, and 163 are owned by private capital. Of the 185 book companies, 94 published literary books, 85 publish social science books, 39 publish natural science and art books, and 88 publish popular books. It is obvious that most of the book companies published literary and social science books, because these books serve as better tools for propaganda.

The Communists effectively use periodicals as propaganda instruments. There are 247 periodicals of which 19 are general magazines. The most important are the Peiping Hsin-hua Yueh-pao (29) (New China Monthly), the Wu-hsi Hsin-hua Chou-pao (30) (New China Weekly), the Shanghai Chan-wang (31) (Perspective), the Hong Kong Min-chu Shih-tai (32) (Democratic Age), the Shanghai Hsin Chung-hua (33) (New China), and the Harbin She-hui Hsin-pao (34) (Social Herald). There are nine periodicals on general affairs including: the Peiping Cheng-ch'u Ch'ih-chiu Ho-p'ing Cheng-ch'u Jen-min Min-chu (35) (For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy), the Shanghai Shih-chieh Chih-shih (36) (World Culture), the Shanghai Shih-tai (37) (Time), and the Peiping Chung-Su Yu-hao (38) (Sino-Soviet Friendship).

There are six periodicals on economic affairs, including: the Harbin Kung-shang Chou-pao (39) (Industry and Commerce Weekly Review), the Shanghai Ching-chi Chou-pao (40) (Economic Weekly), and the Canton Ching-chi Tao-pao (41) (Economic Guidance). There are 24 periodicals on industry and mining, 12 on agriculture, and four on communications. There are 17 periodicals on education, including: the Peiping Hsueh-hsi (42) (Study), the Peiping Hsueh-hsi T'ung-hsin (43) (Study Correspondence), the Shanghai Hsien-tai Chiao-hsueh (44) (Modern Teachers), and the Chiao-yu T'ung-hsin (45) (Educational Information) published in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningxia Border Region. There are eight foreign-language publications, of which the principal ones are the English-language China-Digest published in Hong Kong and the People's China published in Peiping, and the Russian-language Epoch published in Shanghai.

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Among the 43 literary and art periodicals, there are the Peiping Wen-i Pao (46) (Literature and Arts Magazine, the Peiping Jen-min Wen-hsueh (47) (People's Literature), the Tientsin Wen-yi Hsueh-hsi (48) (Study of Literature and Arts); and ten picture magazines, including the Peiping Chung-kuo Kung-jen Hua (49) (Chinese Workers' Pictorial), and the Shanghai Tung-fang Hung (50) (Eastern Star).

These periodicals include monthlies, semimonthlies, weeklies, semiweeklies, and others published once every 3 or 10 days. A total of 14 million copies of periodicals were printed in 1951 with a circulation for a single issue of all periodicals amounting to 2 million copies. Only two of these periodicals have a circulation above 100,000, five have under 100,000, and 37 have between 10,000 and 50,000. The rest of the periodicals have a circulation below 10,000, with some below 1,000. The publication conditions mentioned above are considered wasteful and show lack of planning; hence, some of the firms are urged to merge. In the meantime, the Communists urge the authors, artists, publishers, translators, editors, proofreaders, pressmen, draftsmen, bookbinders, booksellers to unite and cooperate in the so-called New Democracy Cultural Front to serve the interest of workers, peasants and soldiers.

To strengthen further control of the publishing industry, the "Outline Plan for Publication Work in 1951" was drawn up by the Publication Administration and approved by the Government Administration Council on 14 February 1951. Obviously, the Communists noticed that the five resolutions passed at the conference on publications had not been thoroughly carried out. This new plan laid great emphasis on industrial planning, including stepping up industrial specialization within the publishing and printing industry. It also urged that patriotism and internationalism be taught to the public.

Under this plan, the Communists intend to put out 50 percent more new books than 1950, and they hope to print 100 percent more copies of new books than 1950. A total of 530 million copies of books and periodicals are the target for 1951. These include the voluminous, Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, popular versions of Leninism-Marxism, books on patriotism, internationalism, anti-imperialism, current affairs, cartoon books, picture books, etc. The Jen-min Ch'u-pan She will publish all political and current affairs books for the entire country, and the Jen-min Chiao-yu Ch'u-pan She all primary and middle-school textbooks.

Hereafter, all book publishing business will be handled or controlled exclusively by the Hsin-hua Shu-tien. In the distribution field, to realize the centralized supervision and control by the Hsin-hua Shu-tien throughout China, the important publicly and privately operated book distributing agencies will be combined and formed into the Chung-kuo T'u-shu Fa-hang Kung-ssu (51) (China Documents Distributing Company), and other medium- or small-size distributing firms (including the post offices and cooperatives) will jointly form a distribution network. By these means the Chinese Communists will have tighter control over publishing and distribution.

CHARACTERS

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| 1. 新華通訊社 | 5. 新華廣播電臺 |
| 2. 中華社 | 6. 中央廣播事業管理局 |
| 3. 中央社 | 7. 廣播事業局 |
| 4. 中央人民廣播電臺 | 8. 新華書店 |

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9. 商務印書館
10. 中華書局
11. 開明書店
12. 三聯書店
13. 聯營書店
14. 人民出版社
15. 新華印刷廠
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17. 獨立出版社
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29. 新華月報
30. 新華週報

31. 展望
32. 民主時代
33. 新中華
34. 社會新報
35. 爭取持久和平, 爭取人民民主
36. 世界知識
37. 時代
38. 中蘇友好
39. 工商週報
40. 經濟週報
41. 經濟導報
42. 學習
43. 學習通訊
44. 現代教學
45. 教育通訊
46. 文藝報
47. 人民文學
48. 文藝學習
49. 中國工人畫
50. 東方紅
51. 中國圖書發行公司

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